881 Lack of definite ceremony at this time discussed further in section on Rituals. Menstruating woman not subject to speech taboos; prepared food; slept with husband, but had no sexual in-
[841] tercourse with him, as this would affect his hunting; this latter taboo not strictly adhered to now (MM).

838 Transvestites.- Male transvestite (huiy) wore woman's aprons; mother taught him to gather, prepare acorns, tobacco, make baskets, pottery; transvestite would "stay around with the women," but SM did not know of any marriages entered into by transvestites. They were not doctors, clowns, or corpse-handlers. Transvestites never openly ridiculed, although SM appeared amused, chuckled over remembrance of transvestite he had once seen.

761 Death.- All deaths, including accidental ones, attributed to witchcraft or poisoning. Death de-
763 termined "when all the breath goes out" (SM). Immediately after death one of relations addressed corpse: "Go good, don't turn around. Don't think of us again, you are going to another place" (SM). Dead went to a·bo·no·li·mak, a land to E described in Orpheus myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

764 Body kept in house overnight; relatives,
[765] friends assembled, wailed throughout night; "one person would start crying, then everybody would
767 cry" (FP). Following day corpse wrapped in tule
887 mats, taken from house by 2 old women corpse-handlers (u·hu·yahm) and buried in shallow grave 1/8-mi. or so away from hamlet, on rocky hillside under shelving rocks. "Every hamlet (?) had 2 old women whose regular job it was to take away the bodies and bury them; they packed the corpse on their backs, each one half of the way; when they returned they washed well in plain warm water and were paid a little bit by the dead person's relatives" (SM). FP said men took corpse away for burial; "the corpse-handlers just washed their hands afterward, but some people were afraid to touch the corpse; they thought it would make them sick." Body buried in extended position, face up, head toward W; eyes not covered (SM).
[766] Bodies of those who died away from home brought back for burial if possible; flesh not cremated off bones first; those killed in war away from home buried on spot (FP).

765 Within one or two days following death of husband, parent, or offspring, woman burned her hair shoulder length or shorter; men did not do this. Woman did not wash face; painted it red (SWN); did not paint it (FP). After death of certain relatives man or woman could not eat meat, grease, fish until he or she had had face washed by man, woman outside family (see section on Rituals); this taboo obligatory after death of spouse, child, even though latter only 4, 5 yrs. old, and brother's or sister's adult children and, for man, brother's wife or wife's sister,

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575), [177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi·mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

T 788 765 572 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [78] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

[768]

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

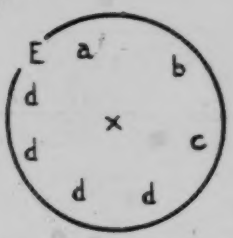

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

159 out some place and the old woman took a spine
304 from a bush that grows all over up there and made the marks on me. My mother didn't know about it until afterward, because she wasn't there. At first I ran away from the old woman; I didn't want her to do it, but she said those marks would look pretty on me. Then I said, "All right," and she made them. It hurt a lot. And then she rubbed in charcoal made from the wood of some sort of a bush. I tried to rub the marks off; I grabbed dirt and rubbed it all over my face and arm, but the marks wouldn't come off. They used to show on my face for a long time, when I was younger. Indians used to do that to make themselves look pretty. PN and Petra Miranda have those marks on their faces, too.

159 Two of my brothers died while we were at u·u··
754 pu·lap. The bad doctor, Old Bill Chico, killed
682 them. He said when he got drunk one time that he was going to kill all the children, so later they burned him over at Kernville; they tied him with a hair rope and threw him into the fire.

159 When my brothers died my parents made a fiesta
764 to have their faces washed; my mother cut off her
765 hair down to her shoulders, too, when they died.

We lived at omomïp for awhile after that. Then some men went over on the desert and saw lots of
159 ku·l (p. 15) over there, so lots of people from here went to get it. That was when I was a young girl, about 16. I went over on the desert with my grandma (mother's mother), to a place this side of Randsburg, on a hill. A lot of people
[481] went. There were 4 camps of people over there. We all went afoot, men and women. One little girl went with her grandma; the little girl was maybe 9 or 10 yrs. old. There weren't any babies taken; the women couldn't carry them. It was in the early summer, maybe in June. We took flour from omomïp; Bill Scodie had a store near omomïp where he sold flour and coffee and sugar and whiskey. But we ate all that flour up when we got over on the desert, so then we just had ku·l seeds and Mariposa lily bulbs and chia seeds to eat; we ate all those. There were lots of boxthorn berries over there, too; we gathered those. And lots of Mariposa lily bulbs, big ones that
[824] we peeled a little and then boiled. We'd get half a sackful. The Mariposa lily bulbs over here are little and sweet, but those over on the desert are big.

159 That little girl who went over there used to
252 grind ku·l seeds on a grinding slab. She was little, and everybody stood around watching her, all the people; she cried then, because she was ashamed, I guess. Her grandma told her it was all right, and not to cry.

159 We ate rabbits and ku·l and chia seeds. There
[265] was nice water there, cold. We made a shade from greasewood brush; not a ramada, but a shade with
349 a single pole sticking up out of the ground and another pole leaning against the first one in the fork at the top; then we piled greasewood on both sides against that slanting pole (as in

Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 24) [p. 73(6)] 1 [ie., Montzelin Albicaulis Dougl.-- Analyst]

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yYtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[769] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
[285 with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
438] of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

159 591 go to Poso Flat any more for acorns then; it was too far; no one goes over there now for acorns from here. We'd just gather about half a sackful right near home. Those acorns that grow up at [252] Steban's aren't much good; they are too bitter. You have to work with them a long time to get them sweet. The acorns down by Isabella are all right; they're pretty sweet. But the best ones come from Poso Flat; you don't have to work with them hardly at all to get them sweet.

159 574 438 Sometimes I'd go down to see Petra Miranda at the Jesus ranch; we'd go in the morning and return in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. We'd just talk together, Petra and I; we'd tell each other what we had been doing all the time. I'd gather seeds, too; we bought flour instead of using acorn meal, but the children all liked chia and ku·l and pacist gruel. That peddler used to come around all the time to trade baskets for clothes; I bought Legora a cape once, from him. It was pretty, with fur around it; it cost me $4 in trade.

159 763 273 682 One time my husband rode a bronco, all alone in a field over here, and Hawk came down when he was riding that horse and hit him on the side of his head with his wing. Six months after that my husband died; he was killed. He went over to Kernville one day; he got drunk over there with a white man. Nobody else was with them; no one saw what happened. My husband had $20 in gold in his pocket. He was shot in 3 places; somebody killed him and then took that money off him, because the pocket he had it in was cut off with a knife. Steban was cutting wood, camping with his wife down here, working for the Brown company; a white man came and told him about Pete's being killed. Then they all left that camp and came up and told me. Legora was working at Mrs. Nichols'; Estefana and another girl went up and got her, then we waited here all day. They were going to bring my husband's body over here and bury it down here, but they kept it over in Kernville all day. My son had no money to pay a man for bringing it over here in a wagon. One white man said, "Have you money?" My son said, "No." Then that white man gave my son $7. The white men at Kernville wanted to bury my husband over there at Kernville, but my son paid a man at Kernville and that man brought the body over here.

159 764 765 When they brought Pete's body back from Kernville everybody came and stayed at our place that night; they prayed for Pete. Steban prayed (in Spanish). We all cried; one person would start crying, then everybody would cry, all night long. The next morning we buried the body. I burned all Pete's clothes, then, right away; the mattresses, pillows, quilts, blankets; I didn't save anything of his. The plates I broke and threw away. He had a good rifle; I buried that well. If I hadn't done all that his ghost would have walked around inside the house, bothering us. [231] Pete had 3 horses that time; I got one and my son and daughter each got one. SM wanted to get one,

159 but the judge at Kernville told him he couldn't
764 because Pete had children and the horses belonged
765 to them. That's the way the old-timers always
wanted to do; if a man died his brothers or par-
159 ents took away the man's possessions instead of
768 letting the widow have any of them. Not the dead
man's clothes, because they were burned, but his
horses, wagon, or anything like that. Now they
can't do that way.

159 My husband was killed in November and I didn't
765 eat meat after that until the next March. I cut
my hair right after he was killed; I cut it off
so that it came down a little way over my shoul-
ders. And Legora and I wore black dresses for
[777] one yr. It gives you bad luck if you wear black
too long; one yr. is enough. The old-timers never
used to wash their faces after a relative had
died, until they ate meat again; they bathed,
but they never washed their faces. I washed mine
[572] though, before I ate meat. Legora and my son
helped me get that money to eat meat again; I
paid my ta·gin $50 for washing my face. I had a
cousin for a ta·gin; she moved over to Visalia
and died there.

159 Nobody saw that white man kill my husband; a
626 long time afterward Legora heard that man tell
somebody, "I killed my good friend, but he talked
522 bad to me; I couldn't stand it." One time after
that Legora saw that white man when he was drunk;
she went up to him and she said, "You killed my
father; now I'm going to kill you." He was
frightened; it made us all laugh, how frightened
he was. "Oh, no, Legora; don't do that! Don't
kill me," he said. He looked funny when he said
that, so frightened. Legora and all of us laughed
and laughed at him.

159 Two yrs. after my husband died Willie Andreas
591 started living with Legora. She was 17 yrs. old
then. We lived up at yĭtiyamup; Legora and Willie
585 and I lived in the same house. I used to sit down
all the time and make baskets. Not very many women
made baskets then; Petra Nichols made them, too.
Legora had a boy born to her.

159 One time my son had a fight with a Tule River
578 reservation man living up here. They got into a
quarrel; my son hit the Tule man on the head with
278 a spur. After that fight the Tule man wouldn't
ever talk to my son again. That man had poison;
something, I don't know what; all those Tule
reservation people have poison and they all know
about it, men, women, young boys. It's Indian
poison. The Tübatulabal don't have that poison
up here (i.e., make it), but one of those witches
living up at the Onyx rancheria has some; they
say she got it when she lived at Tule, and that
she has it up here now. They put it in your food,
in your cigarettes, in your drinks; in anything
like that.

159 After that fight, one time my son got drunk
and slept outside on the ground all night. It was
cold; it was in November and there was frost on
the ground. November was the same month my hus-
band was killed in, 4 yrs. before.

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yĭtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and